DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 202 787 SO 013 414

AUTHOR Price, Thomas J.
TITLE An Emerging World Consciousness? An Analysis of "Foreign Affairs," 1922-1979.
PUB DATE 19 Mar 81
NOTE 31p.; Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association (Philadelphia, PA, March 19, 1981). Not available from EDRS in paper copy due to poor reproducibility of original document.

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Federal Government; *Foreign Policy; *National Organizations; Periodicals; *Policy Formation; *Political Influences
IDENTIFIERS *Council on Foreign Relations; Foreign Affairs (Journal)

ABSTRACT

This study summarizes major thrusts of articles appearing in "Foreign Affairs," the journal which is essentially the voice of the Council on Foreign Relations. The study is based on the premise that the Council holds an elite and influential position in U.S. government policy formation. Articles and supplements from Volume I, Number I (September, 1922) to the present were classified according to data on the article and data on the author. Major themes were characterized as political, economic, military, societal, and territorial. The study also classified the area of the world the article focused on in terms of geographical/regional areas and organizations or clusters that stretch across a number of geographical regions. In order to determine whether a change has occurred in the attention given to Europe as opposed to the rest of the world, a World Consciousness Area was established which included South America, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, international organizations, the economic cluster, and the societal cluster. Results indicate that the World Consciousness Area has the highest level of attention. Since the rise in the level of attention began as early as 1950, this study maintains the argument that "Foreign Affairs" begins years in advance to mold elite opinion. In addition, 71% of authors, most of whom are from the United States, come from academic, governmental administrative, or informed commentator occupations. Finally, the hypothesis that the United States is shifting from a political-military to an economic-societal perspective was not supported. (Author/KC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED202787

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

AN EMERGING WORLD CONSCIOUSNESS?: AN ANALYSIS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1922-1979.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

THOMAS J. PRICE

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

By

Thomas J. Price

Department of Political Science
University of Texas at El Paso

Prepared for delivery at the 1981 Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 19, 1981.

SO 013 414

AN EMERGING WORLD CONSCIOUSNESS?: AN ANALYSIS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1922-1979

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING AND THE WORLD

Control over United States foreign policy decisions has resided in the hands of a few. Observations and evaluations, scholarly and polemical, have continually reached this conclusion. The American public with its access to the decisional process through interest groups or political parties has exercised neither a continuing interest nor a directive pressure on matters of foreign policy (Almond, 1960). If anything, the public's concern with domestic and personal matters results in a high level of permissiveness for those who make foreign policy (Caspary, 1970: 546). Public opinion is regarded in the Department of State, not as something to be listened to, but as something to be manipulated (Cohen, 1973: 62-63).

The lack of attention and permissiveness leaves foreign policy to those few who are interested, have information, and are willing to act. By deferring to others, the public has created a foreign affairs elite which is not necessarily evil or conspiratorial. This elite which has included such people as Thomas Jefferson, Hamilton Fish, Colonel House and Cyrus Vance, has made foreign policy for the United States. The public has stood aside allowing them to commit the resources of the nation.

After the achievement of the initial foreign policy objective--independence--the men who created the United States attempted to, on the one hand, keep the country free and independent from major European powers and, on the other hand, to spread American influence and goods throughout the rest of the world. This duality of purpose resulted in a split vision for United States foreign policy.

For most, the dominant view has always been towards Europe. Given the European heritage, friendships, and relationships of both the founding fathers and their decision-making heirs, it is not unreasonable to assume a European bias (Lucas, 1970: 128). With the trade explosion of the Industrial Revolution and the security interconnections of the twentieth century, Europe should emerge as the main focus of United States foreign policy.

But, there was always the weaker view towards the rest of the world. From the struggles in the 1790's in the Caribbean, through the Barbary pirates, the creation of Liberia, and the ubiquitous Yankee trader and missionary in the Orient, the United States was intimately concerned with the world outside of Europe. This concern has, if anything, intensified in more recent times with wars in Asia, unrest in southern Africa, economic uneasiness in the Middle East and continual restiveness in Latin America.

The problems in these areas have caused some scholars (for example, Keohane and Nye, 1977; and Mansbach, Ferguson, and Lampert, 1976) to suggest that the world has changed from a Euro-centered one to another that stresses transnationalism and economic interdependence. The results of such a change for the United States foreign policy elite would appear to be twofold: 1) a balancing of the split vision or even a reversal of which view is dominant; and 2) a lessening of the traditional political-military emphasis associated with foreign policy and an increase in the attention paid to economic and societal concerns.

THE ELITE VIEW: THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

While the "public" view of foreign affairs--even if the public has proven to be uninterested and uninformed--is available through various public opinion polls,

the "elite" view is more difficult to come by. The foreign affairs elite forms a community (Shoup and Minter, 1977: 58) that while not necessarily excluding public observation does not encourage it. The information and opinions available to those who are part of this community are not meant for wide dissemination. This foreign affairs community conducts a policy opinion formation within itself that only emerges later as specific proposals for governmental policy.

In the process of policy opinion formation, the policy planning organizations of the foreign affairs community emerge as the "central coordinating mechanisms" that bring together the leaders of government, business, and the academic world to develop policies that will later be submitted to the Congress and to the President in the name of the nation (Dye, 1979: 126). In the process of developing these proposals, the policy planning organizations maintain the channels of the community's information network. They provide:

1. A setting wherein members of the power elite can familiarize themselves with general issues in a relaxed and off-the-record setting.
2. A setting where conflicts within the power elite can be discussed and compromised.
3. A setting wherein members of the power elite can hear the findings of various academic experts.
4. A framework for commissioned studies by experts on important issues, thereby assuring leaders within the power elite that they have the latest and best information on the subject at hand.
5. An informal training ground for new leadership within the power elite.
6. An informal recruiting ground for determining which academic experts may be suitable for government service, either as faceless staff aides to the numerous lawyers and business-people who take Washington positions or as executive-branch appointees in their own right (Domhoff, 1978: 120-121).

The result of this policy opinion process is "action recommendations" which are perceived to be programs that will resolve specific national problems (Dye, 1978: 312).

Among these organizations which include the Business Advisory Council, the Brookings Institution, the Trilateral Commission, and the Bilderburg Commission, the Council on Foreign Relations has a preeminent position. The Council was founded in 1921 in the aftermath of the defeat of the Treaty of Versailles which many of its founders helped to draft. It has continued since then to analyze foreign events and to offer policy opinions. With the outbreak of World War II, the Council was called upon to assist the government in planning the war effort and, more importantly, the peace effort. This cooperation established a continuing relationship between the Council and the government. Members of the Council seem in constant motion moving into and out of governmental service. Almost every major foreign policy figure in the United States since World War II has been associated with the Council.

This close relationship with the government has been responsible for some of the attacks on the Council. It has been attacked from the political right as an "invisible government" whose purpose is to "convert America into a socialist state and then make it a unit in a one-world socialist system" which will ultimately be "under the control of the Kremlin" (Snoot, 1977: 3 and 141). The Council has also been attacked from the political and economic left as a tool of "the New York financial oligarchy" whose purpose is to perpetuate "an imperial role for the United States" (Shoup and Minter, 1977: 111 and 50).

Whether any of these attacks have merit, all accept as a fact that the Council on Foreign Relations serves the foreign affairs community of the United States providing them with information, analyses, and vehicles to express and communicate their interests to those who occupy the seats of authority. And since many of these decision-makers are Council members, it is difficult at times to distinguish where the Council ends and the government begins (Milbrath, 1967: 246-247).

Thus a study of the Council's recommendations under one interpretation--the Council is the foreign affairs government--would be the study of government policy to come. On the other hand, if the Council is the leading policy opinion organization, then a study of its recommendations would provide an insight into the world presented to and possibly accepted by those who will make policy decisions. With this second interpretation, the Council's view would be one of the building blocks for a decision maker's "mental map" (Henrikson, 1980) or "cognitive map" (Axelrod, 1976). Under either interpretation, a study of the Council on Foreign Relations view of the world would give some understanding of the world perceived by United States foreign policy-makers.

While the Council's world has been expressed in pamphlets and books, the oldest and most consistent expression has been in the journal, Foreign Affairs. Started the year after the Council itself, Foreign Affairs has become the most prestigious and influential journal in the field of foreign policy. Since most policy initiatives for the United States are first expressed within its pages, it is considered "the unofficial spokesman of U.S. foreign policy" (Dye, 1978: 313). As such, it is "sought after by statesmen and scholars; read in the chancelleries of the world; and repeatedly cited in the press of all nations" (Kraft, 1958: 65). According to the attackers from the political right, Foreign Affairs begins to mold opinion five to ten years in advance of its policy appearance in the government and consequently, with judicious reading, one can learn well in advance what future United States policies will be (Schafly and Ward, 1975: 136 and 151).

Exemplifying this interconnection was the publication in Foreign Affairs in 1947 of the "X" article on containment of the Soviet Union. This anonymous article laid, whether its author intended it or not, the philosophical foundations for NATO and much of the subsequent Cold War imagery. X turned out to be

George F. Kennan, head of the Department of State's Policy Planning Staff, which demonstrates not only the connection between the government and the Council, but also that policy ideas are being introduced to the foreign affairs community by governmental officials before they become official policy.

THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS DATA

Whether one accepts the "conspiracy theories" about the Council on Foreign Relations or not, Foreign Affairs is a voice of the Council and presents a view of the world formed by the United States foreign affairs community. As a consequence of this observation, a data set was started to summarize the major thrusts of the articles that have appeared in Foreign Affairs. Beginning with Volume 1: Number 1, September 1922, each article appearing in the table of contents and each supplement sent with the journal was reviewed and classified.[1] All classification systems reduce the complexity of reality and so too does the one used here. In the discussion below of the individual factors selected and used, it should be remembered that the purpose was to picture the major features--or thrusts--of each piece and not to minutely detail the landscape. Each work, regardless of its length or position in the journal, was treated equally on an assumption that the journal's presentation constituted a composite worldview. The data collected on each piece were of two types: first, data on the article itself and, second, data on the author or authors of the piece.

---

[1]This includes all articles, review articles, and short territorial pieces, but does not include correspondence, recent books, and source material. All items used are referred to as articles in the text above.

Article Data

Focus. The first classification decision made for each article was for focus, this is, what it is about. Realizing that most articles in Foreign Affairs touch upon a multiplicity of issues, the decision was to characterize the major theme. Five categories were used:

1. Political,
2. Economic
3. Military,
4. Societal,
5. Territorial.

The first three--Political, Economic, and Military--are self-explanatory. Societal articles are those whose major theme was a characterization of the country as a whole. Some of these articles can be referred to as "travelogues" in that they describe almost every major and many minor features of these societies; others focus generally on one feature such as religion and demonstrate its impact on national actions. The territorial category gathered those articles which usually describe border disputes or questions of jurisdiction based on location. Many of these articles were short descriptive pieces with an accompanying map.

Area. Area located where in the world the attention of the foreign affairs community was directed. The first set of categories is geographical and is derived primarily from the regional categories of Singer and Small (1972: 24-26). They are:

1. South America,
2. Europe,
3. Africa,
4. Middle East,
5. Asia,
6. Canada,
7. United States,
8. Polar Regions,
9. World.

The geographic world is divided into eight mutually exclusive regions and one inclusive category if the article's geographical thrust was towards the world. The region identified was the area where the action was or would take place. United States policy towards Nigeria was classified as Africa. As a further example, articles on the Soviet Union proper were listed under Europe, as were Soviet policies and actions toward Europe. Articles on Soviet-Chinese actions, however, were classified as Asian in area. All Western Hemisphere articles other than those on the United States and Canada were classified as South American. The articles on the United States were those that did not give a geographical focus elsewhere, but described foreign policy processes or the effects of societal, political, and other factors. Oceans were handled in one of three ways: 1) as an extension of land mass, 2) as a World concern, or 3) as an International Organization such as the Law of the Sea Conferences.

However, as clearly evident today, the attention of policy makers is no longer merely geographical. The Department of State for example has included functional divisions along with its more traditional geographical divisions. Clusters of people that stretch across regions yet fall short of the whole world must be given consideration. These clusters may be held together by a variety of causes that includes politics, economics, and culture. The classifications used for these are:

10. Old Style Empires,
11. New Style Empires,
12. International Organization,
13. Economic Cluster such as the Developing World,
14. Societal Cluster such as the Muslim World.

Two of the political clusters reflect the ideas of John Herz (1957). His use of the term empire connotes an organization stretching across a number of geographical regions. While the Old Style or colonial empires have long been disintegrating, the New Style Empires of the United States and the Soviet Union

emerged after World War II. In their most concrete forms, these New Style Empires can be seen in the bloc organization of Europe--NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. In their more nebulous forms, they exist as the concepts of the West and the Communist world. The International Organization classification--those larger than one geographical region--generally refers to the United Nations and its activities, but includes such transregional international organizations as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The non-organizational clusters are based on the increasing attention paid to economic and societal conditions throughout the world. No finer distinctions were made as it was the total image rather than the specific organization that was important.

One last category was used for articles about a theme as authoritarianism that would concern some but not all and not all within a region or cluster. These articles were classified as:

15. General

Author Data

The data were collected on authors with a number of questions in mind. Among these were: Does one kind of profession predominate in writing articles in Foreign Affairs? Can the in-and-outers be traced in some fashion through their writings in Foreign Affairs? How international are the authors of the articles? And who have had the greatest opportunity to be influential? The data for these authors were drawn entirely from the information provided on the contributors page of Foreign Affairs. While at times more information was known about the authors than what appeared, it was felt best to limit the data to what was presented because of those for whom more information was not available.

Occupational Setting. Among the information available on the contributors page are statements about what the authors do or have done. In classifying this information, if the current occupation was clearly given, it was classified. However, if the current occupation was not given, then the person's activity that appeared to be the most important and which was generally listed first was used to classify the occupational perspective brought to the article. Thus a former Assistant Secretary of Defense would be writing from an administrative point of view. The classifications stress occupational settings and the perspectives associated with these settings. The settings for occupations are:

1. Academic,
2. Political,
3. Governmental Administrative,
4. Military,
5. Business/Labor,
6. Law,
7. Informed Commentator,
8. Council on Foreign Relations/Foreign Affairs Staff,
9. Non-Academic Research/Foundations,
10. Anonymous,
11. Not Identified.

Most of the occupational settings are self-evident. However, a comment on a few of them is in order. The distinction between Political and Governmental Administrative was not always as clear as one would like. Many politicians hold administrative positions and what in one country is a political position, in another, it is an administrative one. Consequently, if the position seemed primarily administrative it was so classified; if it seemed more political than administrative, it was put into that category. Foreign Affairs uses a wide variety of authors, many of whom are journalists, editors, book authors, and some educated lay people. These writers are gathered together in the category of Informed Commentator. The two similarly appearing classifications of Anonymous and Not Identified are there because on the contributors page, authors of anonymous

articles are referred to generally by an "initial de plume," while others whose names are listed as authors in the table of contents are not identified. It was felt that this distinction should be maintained.

Residential Setting. This factor began as national citizenship, but it soon became obvious that there was not enough information for this to be stated with confidence. What information was given allowed for the identification of where the author was at the time of writing. Among the specific coding instructions are that advisors to other countries and colonial administrators are writing from that residential perspective, but that newspaper correspondents still are writing from the residential perspective of their home newspapers. In most cases, this location also indicates citizenship. The country classifications used are based on those developed by Singer and Small (1972: 24-26).[1]

AN EMERGING WORLD CONSCIOUSNESS?

The analyses for whether a rising world consciousness is occurring within the United States foreign affairs elite follow the three main areas of interest: area, focus and author. In brief, the general questions for this research are: 1) What has been the level of attention paid to the "rest of the world" as opposed to Europe and has this level of attention changed? 2) What has been the primary interest in those areas of the world that would represent a rising world

---

[1]The reliability of the codings into these categories was tested with a ten percent random sample of 287 articles. The largest number of coding changes occurred in the focus variable for obvious reasons--18 coding changes for an acceptable 92.7 reliability. The next largest number of changes was eight for a reliability of 97.2 for area. The changes for other factors were even less. Overall then the reliability for the codings are all 90 plus.

consciousness? 3) Who have been the most influential authors on this world consciousness area and through what perspectives, occupational and residential, have these authors viewed it?

To answer these questions, a world consciousness area had to be defined in order to compare it to Europe. Originally, it was felt that the areas of South America, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, World, International Organization, Economic Cluster, and Societal Cluster would be summarized into a World Consciousness Area. However, after plotting each area's levels of attention from 1922 to 1979, it was evident that one area--International Organization--did not fit the same pattern as the other seven. In considering this result, a number of causes come to mind. First, since most of the articles were on the League of Nations or the United Nations, the category may simply be a reflection of Great Powers or Superpowers conflicts centered in Europe and not be an element of a new world view. Second, the world consciousness suggested above stresses economic and societal concerns, while the traditional worries associated with international organizations have been political and military. As a consequence, the area of International Organization was excluded from a World Consciousness Area that was made up of the remaining seven areas.

All the articles on the World Consciousness Area from Foreign Affairs, 1922-1979, Volume1:1 to Volume 58:2, were selected and analyzed. Of the 2961 articles published over these years, 1171 were on the World Consciousness Area.

Level of Attention. From the discussion above, the type of attention for the United States foreign policy elite can be conceived of in a variety of ways: first, a European bias that has always dominated; second, a non-European bias that has always dominated; third, the suggested movement from a European bias to a more

balanced view or even to a World Consciousness Area bias; and fourth, a movement from a non-European bias to a European one.

Level of attention in Foreign Affairs is defined as the percentage of articles devoted to a specific area. Of the 2961 articles published, 1171 are on the World Consciousness Area--a level of attention of 39.5%. When compared to

Table 1

the other areas of attention in column one of Table 1, the World Consciousness Area has the highest level of attention. However, it must be remembered that this area is an amalgam of seven areas and Europe has by far the highest level of attention for any single area.

Yet, averages are averages and as many events have suggested recently, the World Consciousness Area may have achieved a large amount of attention only recently. Figure 1 presents the data for the percentage of attention for each of these fifty-eight years. The data in this figure fall clearly into two periods. While the breakpoint year could be several, 1950 was selected because it divided the years into nearly equal halves, 1922-1950 and 1951-1979.

A comparison of these two periods in Tables 1 and 2 shows that more articles were produced in the second period than in the first one and the level of atten-

Table 2

tion rose from 32% for 1922-1950 to 48% for 1951-1979. This increase is striking, but changes in the trend lines for these two periods are even more dramatic. During the first period the level of attention declined at a slope of -.54, whereas in the second period, it increased at almost the opposite slope of .52.

An historical interpretation of the decline in the first period might suggest that it was caused by the economic collapse of the European based world economy and a pro-European Roosevelt administration's concern with the slide into World War II. However, the specific movements during the first period do not totally agree with this argument. What is clear is that a decline occurred, followed by a significant rise in attention. Table 1 supports the contention that the rise in the level of attention for the World Consciousness Area has been at the expense of Europe--a growth of 16% versus a decline of 20%. Yet even more important is the early beginning of this rise c. 1950. This early beginning maintains the argument that Foreign Affairs begins years in advance to mold elite opinion.

Focus. While the level of attention has increased toward the World Consciousness Area, has Foreign Affairs also changed in its focus? Taking all 2961 articles into consideration, Table 3 shows that there is very little difference

Table 3

between the first and the second periods if the traditional political and military focuses are combined and compared to an economic-societal focus. The former loses about five percentage points, while the latter gains about six. Compared to the shift in the levels of attention, these movements are not significant.

If there are few substantial changes for all areas, perhaps accompanying the shift in levels of attention for the World Consciousness Area, is a change in focus. Table 4 presents these data and that for a larger concept of Europe

Table 4

combining Europe with New Style Empire since the latter are founded on Europe (Price, 1980: 5-6). In reviewing these data, while there are changes in individual focuses, there is little change for the political-military and economic-societal combinations when compared to the size of change for the level of attention. These data do not lend much support to the argument that the United States is shifting its focus on the world.

The Authors. There are three general concerns for the data gathered on the authors: 1) Were the authors writing primarily from a United States perspective or from a World Consciousness Area perspective? 2) What occupational perspectives were they using? and 3) Who were the most influential? The first of these questions involves whether people in the area of attention were writing about it or were others doing it. Table 5 presents the data on the authors' residential settings for the articles on the World Consciousness Area and for those on Europe

Table 5

as a comparison. The "European bias" of Foreign Affairs is evident when comparing residential settings. While Europeans constituted half of the authors on Europe, those residing in the World Consciousness Area contributed only a fifth of the articles on that area.

Foreign Affairs is not thought of only as an academic journal but as also representing the worlds of business and government. In fact, it is this mixture that underlies the assumption that Foreign Affairs is the voice of the foreign affairs community. Table 6 gives the occupational perspectives turned on the World Consciousness Area by the 1196 authors and coauthors. Overall, 71% of the authors came from academic, governmental administrative, or informed commentator

TABLE 6

occupations. When separated into the two periods, the largest shifts were increases for academic and political occupations and a decrease for governmental administrative. In fact the growth for academics and non-academic research indicates an increasing "theoretical" perspective that now exceeds an "experience" group made up of politicians, administrators, and informed commentators. Comparing these occupations to those of the authors on Europe, it is clear that entirely different perspectives are being used on the World Consciousness area.

Of the authors, some are more important than others. The actual influence of an individual author cannot be measured by the Data presented here as that would entail measuring the impact of articles on their readers. However, the data can give those with the greatest opportunity to influence. By taking the number of times a particular author published in Foreign Affairs, the potential for influence can be established. The number of articles by the number of authors is given in Table 7. Yet how many articles give influence potential? Schafly and

TABLE 7

and Ward comment that, "A single article in Foreign Affairs will not make a career--but three or four will launch one off to a good start: (1975; 137). In considering Table 7, it seems reasonable that the seventeen authors who have already been successfully "launched" by having published five or more articles would have the greatest influence potential.

These seventeen authors produced 117 articles or 1.4% of the authors wrote 10% of the articles. The focuses of these articles are shown in Table 8. Unlike

Table 8

the authors as a whole in Table 4, these authors in the second period have a stronger political-military focus and a weaker economic-societal one.

As for the residential perspective brought to the World Consciousness Area in Table 9, there is an overwhelming United States viewpoint for the potential

Table 9

influentials. In fact, as will be seen below, only one of these authors is not a United States citizen. The data on occupations in Table 10 show much stronger

Table 10

governmental administrative and Council on Foreign Relations/Foreign Affairs staff viewpoints and a much lesser one for the academics. In the second period, the Council and administrators contributed 78% of the articles for the potential influentials.

Tables 8 through 10 also show an interesting finding. While the total number of articles rose in the second period, 669 to 502, only 27% of the articles by the potential influentials appeared in the second period. Thus while attention was increasing towards the World Consciousness Area, there were few voices being selected consistently to speak through Foreign Affairs to the United States foreign policy elite.

A synopsis of each of these seventeen authors may shed more light on these potential influentials than do these aggregate figures.

Authored Five Articles

1) Geoge H. Blakeslee. Authored one economic, one societal and three political articles on Asia between 1922 and 1938. Professor of History and International Relations, Clark University.

2) Chester Bowles. Authored one societal and four political articles, four on Asia and one on World, between 1952 and 1971. United States Ambassador to India. Then Congressman from Connecticut. And later President Kennedy's Special Representative and Advisor on Africa, Asia, and Latin American Affairs.

3) Isaiah Bowman. Authored on societal and four territorial articles, two on the Middle East, two on World and one on South America, between 1922 and 1946. Director of the American Geographical Society. Later President of the Johns Hopkins University.

4) K. K. Kawakami. Authored three political and two economic articles on Asia between 1928 and 1940. Washington correspondent for the Tokyo Nichi-Nichi, the Osaka Mainicki and the Hochi Shinbaun.

5) Owen Lattimore. Authored one territorial, two political and two military articles on Asia between 1933 and 1946. Engaged in travel and writing in the Far East. The Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, the Johns Hopkins University. Later Political Advisor to Chian Dai-shek.

6) C. K. Leith. Authored five economic articles, one on Asia and four on World, between 1925 and 1930. Professor of Geology, University of Wisconsin.

7) Frank Tannenbaum. Authored five political articles on South America between 1944 and 1960. Professor of Latin American History, Columbia University.

Authored Six Articles

1) H. Foster Bain. Authored six economic articles, five on Asia and one on World, between 1928 and 1946. Secretary of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers. Later Advisor on Mines to the Philippine Government.

2) John C. Campbell. Authored four political and two economic articles, two on South AMerica and four on the Middle East, between 1942 and 1979. Rockefeller Fellow on the Staff of the Council on Foreign Relations. Later Director of Studies, and Senior Research Fellow, Council on Foreign Affairs.

3) Clarence H. Haring. Authored one economic and five political articles on South American between 1927 and 1951. Professor of Latin American History and Economics, Harvard University.

Authored Seven Articles

1) W. (Wolf) I. Ladejinski. Authored five economic and two societal articles on Asia between 1939 and 1970. Economist in the Foreign Service Division, United States Department of Agriculture. Later with the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture. Then Advisor to the Government of South Viet Nam. Later Advisor to the Ford Foundation on Economic and Agricultural Problems in South and Southeast Asia. Finally Agricultural Economist at the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

2) William O. Scroggs. Authored seven economic articles, three on South America, one on Asia and three on World, between 1932 and 1940. Director of Information, Council on Foreign Relations.

3) Robert Gale Woolbert. Authored four political, one military and two societal articles, one on South America, five on Africa, and one on the Middle East, between 1935 and 1942. Instructor in History, Radcliffe College. Then Research Associate, Council on Foreign Relations. And finally, Associate Professor of History, University of Denver.

Authored Nine Articles

1) Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Authored four political, one military and four societal articles, six on Asia and three on World, between 1953 and 1968. Editor of Foreign Affairs.

2) Herbert Feis. Authored one military, two political, and six economic articles, one on South America, two on the Middle East and six on World, between 1925 and 1960. Professor of Economics, University of Cincinnati. Then Economist for the Committee on Latin America, Columbia University. Later Assistant Director of Research, Council on Foreign Relations. Lastly, Advisor on International Economic Affairs, United States Department of State.

Authored Twelve Articles

1) Walter H. Mallory. Authored three political, two economic, four military and three societal articles on Asia between 1928 and 1956. Secretary of the China International Famine Relief Commission. Later Executive Director of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Authored Thirteen Articles

1) Hanson W. Baldwin. Authored thirteen military articles, four on Asia, one on the Middle East and eight on World, between 1942 and 1957. Military and Naval Correspondent of the New York Times. Later Military Editor of the New York Times.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The conclusions of this study and the implications drawn from them must be seen within the assumption that articles in Foreign Affairs offer an insight, if not a snapshot, of the world as it exists in the minds of the United States foreign affairs community. It is the members of this community who have served, are serving, and will serve as authoritative decision-makers for United States foreign policy.

The first area for this research was the level of attention paid to the World Consciousness Area. How large or small was the proportion of attention and had it grown? The level of attention clearly fell into two periods. In the earlier period, the level of attention declined, while in the latter, as suggested by media observation, it increased. Since the growth in this latter period began as early as 1950, it reaffirms the contention that Foreign Affairs molds elite opinion long before public awareness.

The hypothesis that the focus of the United States is shifting from a political-military to an economic-societal perspective is not supported either for all articles or for only those on the World Consciousness Area. While the level of attention has risen for this area, the traditional emphasis on political factors has remained in Foreign Affairs. The increase in the societal focus suggests a perception, first evident for Europe, that other ideologies might feed on social conditions. This view would explain the growth of attention as early as 1950 in the World Consciousness Area as being related to a fear of the spread of Communism.

The data on the authors show a very strong United States voice which with the small proportion of local authors, may seriously limit the depth of understanding available to the United States foreign affairs community. This possible

limitation coupled with the increase in the "theoretical" perspective may make the World Consciousness Area appear as a detached "laboratory" problem to be studied. The data on the potential influentials reinforces a feeling of indecision for Foreign Affairs for this area. While the level of attention has grown, few influentials have emerged. The "sharp difference" on opinion on Africa within the Council on Foreign Relations, noted by its President Winston Lord, is probably typical for all World Consciousness Areas (as cited in Shoup, 1980: 127). The Council and Foreign Affairs have yet to form a clear perspective for these areas.

In conclusion, the "split vision" that has characterized United States foreign policy has, on the one hand, become a more balanced view between Europe and the rest of the world; but, on the other hand, the data on the potential influentials show that the United States elite view of the world is far from certain.

REFERENCES

ALMOND, GABRIEL A. (1960) The American People and Foreign Policy. New YOrk: Praeger.

AXELROD, ROBERT (1976) "The Analysis of Cognitive Maps," in Robert Axelrod, ed., Structure of Decision. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 55-73.

CASPARY, WILLIAM R. (1970) "The 'Mood Theory,'" American Political Science Review, 64:2, 536-547.

COHEN, BERNARD C. (1973) The Public's Impact on Foreign Policy. Boston: Little, Brown.

DOMHOFF, G. WILLIAM (1978) The Powers That Be. New York: Random House.

DYE, THOMAS R. (1978) "Oligarchic Tendencies in National Policy-Making," Journal of Politics, 40:2, 309-331.

_____. (1979) Who's Running America. 2d ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

HERZ, JOHN H. (1957) "Rise and Demise of the Territorial State," World Politics, 9:4, 473-493.

HENRIKSON, ALAN K. (1980) "The Geographical 'Mental Maps' of American Foreign Policy Maker," International Political Science Review, 1:4, 495-530.

KEOHANE, ROBERT O. and JOSEPH S. NYE (1977) Power and Interdependence. Boston: Little, Brown.

KRAFT, JOSEPH (1958) "School for Statesmen," Harper's, July, 64-68.

LUCAS, J. ANTHONY (1971) "The Council on Foreign Relations--Is it a Club? Seminar? Presidium? 'Indivisible Government'?" New York Times Magazine, November 21, 34ff.

MANSBACH, RICHARD W., YALE H. FERGUSON, and DONALD E. LAMPERT (1976) The Web of World Politics Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

MILBRATH, LESTER W. (1967) "Interest Groups and Foreign Policy," in James N. Rosenau, ed., Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy. New York: The Free Press, 231-251.

PRICE, THOMAS J. (1980) "An Elite View of Europe," A paper presented at The International Studies Association/Southwestern Region, Houston, Texas.

SCHAFLY, PHYLLIS and CHESTER WARD (1975) Kissinger on the Couch. New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House.

SHOUP, LAURENCE (1980). The Carter Presidency and Beyond. Palo Alto, Calif.: Ramparts Press.

SHOUP, LAURENCE H. and WILLIAM MINTER (1977) Imperial Brain Trust. New York: Monthly Review Press.

SINGER, J. DAVID and MELVIN SMALL (1972) The Wages of War. New York: Wiley.

SMOOT, DAN (1977) The Invisible Government. 2d ed. Boston: Western Islands.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table 1. Area Data by Percent, 1922-1979 and by Periods.

	1922-1979	Periods 1922-1950	1951-1979
Europe	36.0	45.3	25.6
Canada	1.9	2.0	1.8
USA	10.4	9.5	11.4
Polar Regions	.2	.1	.2
Old Style Empires	3.4	5.7	.9
New Style Empires	2.1	.4	4.1
International Organization	2.9	3.5	2.3
General	3.5	1.5	5.7
World Consciousness Area	39.5	32.0	48.0
Total	99.9[a]	100.0	100.0
N	2961	1568	1393

[a]The percentages in all tables were rounded and may not sum to 100.

Table 2. World Consciousness Area Data by Periods.

	1922-1950	1951-1979
Mean of %	32.0	48.0
Slope of %	-.54	.52
N	502	669
% of N	42.9	57.1

Table 3. Focus Data by Percent, 1922-1979.

	1922-1979	Periods 1922-1950	1951-1979
Political	49.0	52.4	45.2
Economic	22.4	25.5	19.0
Military	12.8	11.7	14.1
Societal	13.5	7.5	20.3
Territorial	2.2	2.9	1.4
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0
N	2961	1568	1393

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table 4. Focus Data for World Consciousness Area and Europe by Percent, 1922-1979.

	1922-1979	Periods 1922-1950	Periods 1951-1979	Europe 1922-1979
Political	44.5	44.8	44.2	53.3
Economic	23.1	28.5	19.0	21.9
Military	9.2	11.2	7.8	15.0
Societal	20.2	11.2	27.1	7.7
Territorial	3.0	4.4	1.9	2.0
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9
N	1171	502	669	1130

Table 5. Author's Residence for World Consciousness Area and Europe by Percent, 1922-1979.

	1922-1979	Periods 1922-1950	Periods 1951-1970	Europe 1922-1979	
USA	60.1	58.4	61.4	42.5	
World Consciousness Area	20.6	18.4	22.3	50.0	(Europe)
Other	19.2	23.2	16.3	7.5	
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	
N	1196	505	691	1135	

Table 6. Author's Occupation for World Consciousness Area and Europe by Percent, 1922-1979.

	1922-1979	Periods 1922-1950	Periods 1951-1979	Europe 1922-1979
Academic	35.7	31.5	38.8	28.5
Political	7.1	2.4	10.6	10.7
Business/Labor	4.3	4.0	4.5	2.0
Law	1.1	.8	1.3	.3
Governmental Administrative	18.6	22.2	15.9	17.4
Military	1.7	2.8	.9	3.4
Informed Commentator	16.8	19.8	14.6	24.3
CFR/FA Staff	5.9	6.1	5.6	6.3
Non-Academic Research	6.1	4.8	7.1	4.0
Anonymous	1.4	2.8	.4	1.5
Not Identified	1.4	3.0	.3	1.5
Total	100.1	100.2	100.0	99.9
N	1196	505	691	1135

Table 7. Number of Articles by Number of Authors for World Consciousness Area, 1922-1979.

Number of Articles	Number of Authors
1	672
2	108
3	41
4	17
5	7
6	3
7	3
8	0
9	2
10	0
11	0
12	1
13	1

Table 8. Focus Data for Articles by Potential Influentials for World Consciousness Area by Percent, 1922-1979.

		Periods	
	1922-1979	1922-1950	1951-1979
Political	33.3	27.1	50.0
Economic	31.6	38.8	12.5
Military	18.8	21.2	12.5
Societal	12.0	7.1	25.0
Territorial	4.3	5.9	--
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0
N	117	85	32

Table 9. Residence Data for Potential Influentials for World Consciousness Area by Percent, 1922-1979.

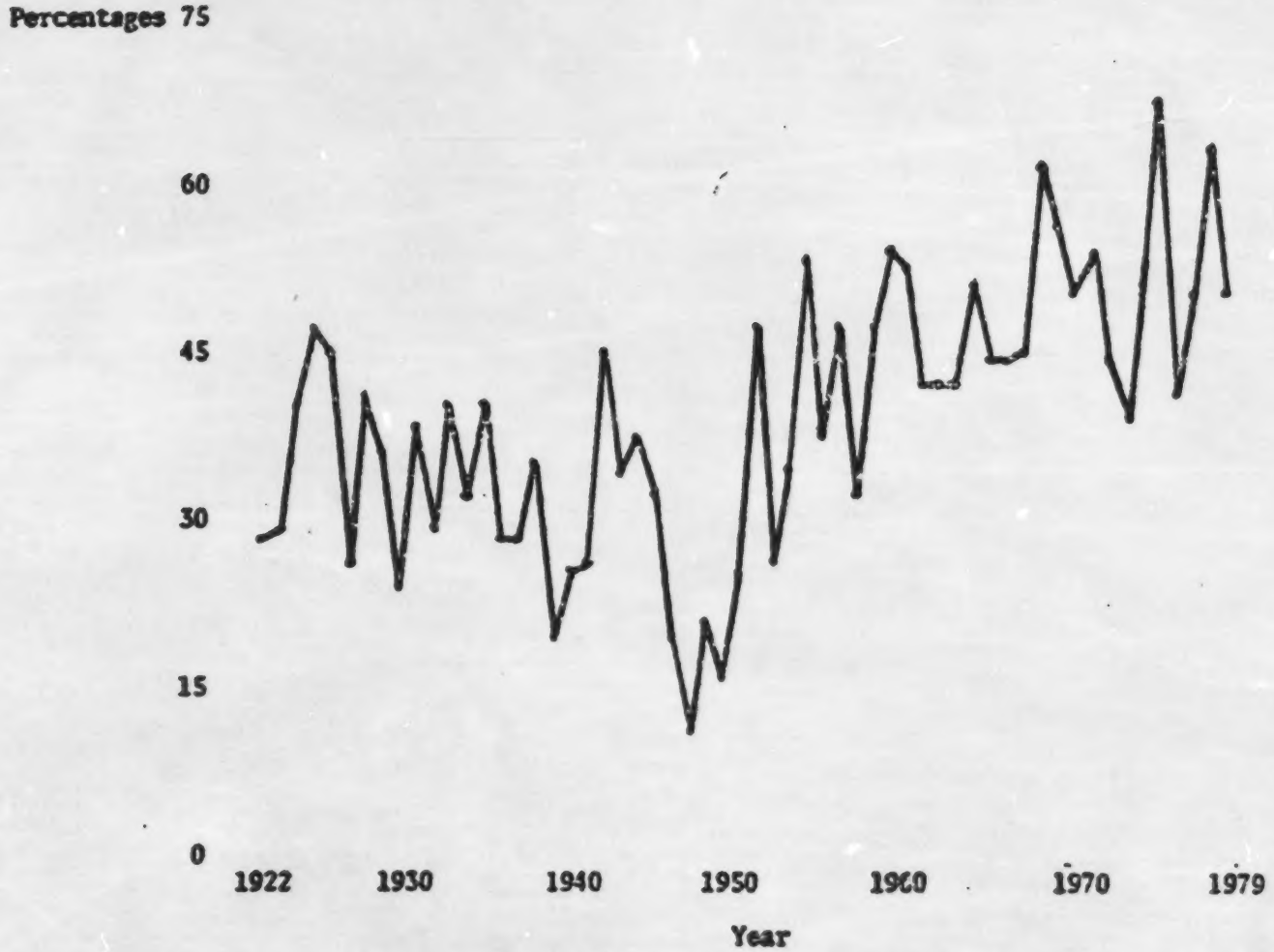
		Periods	
	1922-1979	1922-1950	1951-1979
USA	93.2	91.8	96.9
World Consciousness Area	6.0	7.1	3.1
Other	.8	1.2	---
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0
N	117	85	32

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table 10. Occupation Data of Potential Influentials for World Consciousness Area by Percent, 1922-1979.

		Periods	
	1922-1979	1922-1950	1951-1979
Academic	25.6	31.8	9.4
Political	.9	--	3.1
Governmental Administrative	17.1	11.8	31.3
Informed Commentator	16.2	20.0	6.3
CFR/FA Staff	33.3	28.2	46.9
Non-Academic Research	6.8	8.2	3.1
Total	99.9	100.0	100.1
N	117	85	32

Figure 1. Level of Attention on World Consciousness Area in Foreign Affairs by Percent, 1922-1979.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

30